CATILINE

Printed for James Norris at the Kings armes without Temple B

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Patriæ Parricida:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Horrid Conſpiracy

OF

CATILINE

AGAINST

The Commonwealth

OF

ROME.

Tranſlated out of *Saluſt*,

By *C. C.*

Plots, true or falſe, are neceſſary things
To raiſe up Commonwealths, and ruine Kings.
Abſolom & Achitophel.

LONDON:
Printed by *J. C.* and *F. C.* for *James Norris*, at the Kings-Arms without *Temple-bar*, 1683.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Sir JOHN FOWELL Bar.

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And JOHN GLANVILL Esq;

My Quondam Worthy School-fellows.

SIRS,

SInce Books (as well as Authors) want Patrons, under whose protection they may pass free and undisturb'd through the whole series of Censure, nor be carpt at by every pretending *Zoilus*, and Factious Critick; the aspiring *Curiosa*, dreſt in his

English Garb, lies at your mercy for his Doom. He was once raging in his Passions, and immoderate in his Ambition, affecting no less than the Soveraignty of the onely Empire of the World; but that same Civil War which he was the onely Author of, turn'd at last to his own ruine, like Envy in *Ovid*, bred me his own Tormenter and Executioner. Or like that foolish Bird that stole a Coal from the Altar, which burnt and consum'd her whole Nest.

Thus we see to what Ruines and Precipices the *Ignis fatuus*

fatum of his Ambition de-
coy'd him. But 'tis not on-
ly the fate of *Catiline*, but all,
whose shallow brains enter-
tain such extravagant Chi-
mæra's, and are pufft up with
the empty bubble of haugh-
ty Ambition; and 'tis the
rarest thing in nature, if e-
ver they at last compass
what they aim at, though to
the attaining but the least
part of it, they render them-
selves the most contempti-
ble of Mankind. *Catiline*,
who could content himself
with no less Power than that
of *Sylla*, yet condescended to
be a publick Pander to pro-

cure Whores and Horses for the Roman Gentlemen, whose Heads and Purses he made use of, and whose Ruines he caus'd as well as his own.

The first ambitious men in the World, the old Giants, are said to have made an heroical attempt of scaling Heaven in spight of the Gods, and they cast *Ossa* on *Olympus*, and *Pelion* upon *Ossa*; two or three Mountains more they thought would make them absolute Masters of Heaven, as well as Earth; but the Thunder came and spoil'd all, when they were

come

come to the third story.

The great Attempt was all in vain;
They reapt their labour for their pain.

Cromwel, the great Giant of our Nation, one of their Off-spring, when from an inconsiderable Captain he made himself Lieutenant-General of a little Army of *Titans*, which was his first Mountain; afterwards General, which was his second; and then absolute Tyrant of three Kingdoms, which was his third; is really believ'd to have died of Discontent, because he could not attain the name of King, and the forma-

formality of a Crown: But if he had compass'd that, yet still something else had been necessary to compleat his Felicity; either the Title of an Emperour, or a God.

And to this day what are the minds of many men infected with, but the same Disease? what mean else these Plots and Conspiracies (of which *Catiline* is but the Model)? and these flyings from Justice, but the cursed fruits of Ambition? What makes men of profligate Lives and lost Consciences endeavour the Death and Ruine

Ruine of their own Monarch and the best of Princes? a Prince whom Wonders and an inscrutable Providence have preserv'd, and attended from his Cradle to his Crown; whose Grace has warm'd into life the Vipers that would have stung him, and entertain'd the croaking Vermine into his own Palace.

We might well now reflect on the Iron Age of *Ovid*,

Filius ante Diem Patrios inquirit in annos:

Or the days of *Sylla*, when the Sword had free sway, and acted

acted what it pleased, and was as familiar with Entrails as the *Augurs*. And may not we as well imagine that *Catiline* or *Cethegus* is now rais'd from the dead, and like *Mahomet*'s Pidgeon inspires men with the horrid principles of Bloud and Rebellion? What puts the Nation into Frights and Jealousies, what ruines Friendship and Commerce among men, and turns the whole course of Nature into Chaos and Confusion, but Ambition and its pernicious Attendants?

Thus have I made so large a digression in an Essay of

Am-

Ambition: all that I have to say is, That Gratitude and a sense of Honour for my Country-men and School-fellows, was the onely cause (in this interval of my business) why I were so ambitious to attempt so difficult a Task. The Original in Latin we learnt at School; and I know some will object, that like a School-boy I have handl'd it: but as I covet not their Smiles, so I fear not their Anger, but am much of *Martial*'s humour, that only studied to please and gratifie the Nobility;

Let

Let Poetasters beat their Brains
To please the Vulgar, what's their
gains?

But my ambition was onely to please my self, and if possible, gratifie my Friends; (but especially you, who are my Holy-day Friends, and ought to be distinguish'd from Pretenders): If I have done this, my ambition is at its height; and 'tis but reason I should study not only to requite, but if possible, erect so lasting a Monument, *Quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis* should be ever able to demolish their

their Names, who have ſo largely and generouſly oblig'd me, and I doubt not but will continue it.

I paſs by your Vertues and your Pedigree, and hate to be thought guilty of the leaſt of flattery: for as I acknowledge you my Friends, I ſhould be far from being ſo, ſhould I in the leaſt endeavour it. If Vertue be Nobility (as the Satyriſt obſerves) you have a double Claim to it: Vertue to a Noble Extraction adds Luſtre, carrying a Majeſty with it, and claiming a veneration from every one, eſpecially when

when conſpicuous in ſuch young Perſonages. Which that it may ſtill flouriſh, as it is the Wiſh of all that love you, ſo of none more, than,

SIRS,

Your moſt humble and obliged Servant,

CALEB CALDE.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

Lucius Sergius Catiline was ſprung from an Illuſtrious Family, and endow'd with a vaſt ſtrength both of Mind and Body, but of as wicked and villanous a diſpoſition: to him, even from his youth, Civil Wars, Bloud, Rapine, and Diſſentions, were ever grateful and welcome, and in them did he altogether exerciſe his Youth. He had a Body that could endure Hunger, Heat, and Watching, almoſt beyond belief: His Mind was bold, ſubtile, various, that could counterfeit or diſſemble any thing; greedy of anothers Eſtate, and very prodigal of his own; raging in his Paſſions, and *more Eloquent than Wiſe*: His De-

sires were of so vast an extent, that they immoderately coveted things incredibly beyond his ability. As soon as the Government of L. * *Sylla* had its *Exit*, an extravagant desire seiz'd him of invading the management of the Commonwealth; neither did he ever value by what means he attain'd it, so he got the Reins of Soveraignty into his own hands. Still the wants of his Family and the guilt of his Villany more and more blow'd up the Coals of Discontent in his turbulent breast, besides the corrupt Manners of the City; which Luxury, Avarice, and other complicated Debaucheries, never ceased to foment. Nor can I omit (the matter it self requiring it) to repeat and treat of the Acts and Institutions of our Forefathers, both

* A Noble Roman of the Families of the *Scipio's*: He first serv'd under *Marius*; afterwards aspiring to the power of a *Dictator*, became a great Enemy to *Marius*, and at last his ruine. Then had he power to over-rule all *Rome*, which he did by cutting off his Foes, and inriching his Friends. At last he di'd at *Puteoli* of the Louse Disease, (*a fit death for all such aspiring Usurpers,*) after he had slain 100000 men, 90 *Senators*, 15 of the *Consular-dignity*, and 2000 Gentlemen. Of his Life, *vid. Plutarch.*

in

in Peace and War; by what means they founded the Commonwealth, in what a prosperous condition they left it, and how *Rome*, from the most flourishing and best of Cities, became the most wicked and debaucht.

The *Trojans* (I have read) were the first that built and inhabited the City of *Rome*; who like Vagabonds wander'd from place to place under one *Æneas their *Commander*, to-ge-ther with the †*Aborigenes*, a brutish kind of People, without Laws, without Government, free and absolute. 'Tis almost incredible to relate how both these, of a different Offspring, different Language, and different Manners, did so easily mix and incorporate, as soon as they were settl'd in one place; and afterwards when the num-

* The Son of *Venus* and *Anchises*, who when *Troy* was taken, came into *Italy*. He began his Reign over the *Latins* (saith *Bucholt*) about the year of the World 279. at which time *Samson* was Judge of *Israel*. *Ante urb. Cond.* 427.

† *Quasi sint Origine*, by reason of their antiquity; *Vel Aberrigines, ex aberrando*, a wandering People, whose Offspring is not known.

ber of their Citizens, the goodneſs of their Manners, and the extent of their Territories, had advanc'd their fortunes, their Condition ſeem'd very proſperous, and their power formidable.

But 'tis a general Maxime, that *the abundance of all things begets Envy:* for we find that the bordering Kings and People began to wage War againſt them. Some few of their Friends came to their aſſiſtance, others out of fear and cowardize ſhun'd all dangers; but the *Romans* were very active to incourage and exhort one another to incounter their Enemies, and with their Arms defend their *Liberty, their Country, and their Fathers.* But as ſoon as their Valour had diſpell'd the Miſt of Danger, they immediately ſent Aids and Supplies to their Friends and Confederates, and *became more belov'd by giving than by receiving of Favours*; inſomuch that their lawfully-acquir'd Power obtain'd at length the Royal name of Empire.

They

They had * *Delecti* Delegates, men choſen out to conſult the good of the *Commonwealth*, whoſe bodies as age had render'd weak and infirm, ſo their Wiſdom was the more ſtrong and valid: To theſe, either in regard of their years or Office, they gave the honourable appellation of *Fathers*.

* A Deligendo: No fitter term for it in Engliſh than *Deligatts.*

But as ſoon as the City had aſſum'd its Liberty (ſo much did the deſire of Glory inflame them, that) 'tis incredible to relate in how ſhort a time, to how great an height they arriv'd.

For the Roman Youth, as ſoon as they were capable, learn'd in their Tents Military Diſcipline by labour and practice, and took greater delight in ſhining Armour, and warlike Horſes, than in the ſordid pleaſures of Banquets and obſcenities: And by this means it came to paſs, that nothing they undertook was ſtrange, or unuſual to them; no place, though never ſo difficult, impaſſable; no

armed Enemy in the leaſt formidable; but a true Valour ſubdued and made every thing eaſie.

But the greateſt emulation of Glory was among themſelves; for every one ſtrove to give the firſt onſet to the Enemy, who ſhould firſt ſcale a Wall, or do the moſt noble action: this they accounted their greateſt Treaſure, their greateſt Fame, and the moſt honourable Nobility. They were ever covetous of Praiſe, and liberal of their Money, and affected a great deal of Glory and a competent Eſtate. I could tell ye in what places the Roman Valour with a ſmall Party has conquer'd vaſt Armies of their Enemies, what Cities arm'd both by *Art* and *Nature*, they have beſieg'd and took; if I ſhould not make too great a digreſſion.

The Atchievements of the *Athenians* were indeed very great and magnificent, but ſomewhat leſs and obſcure than what Fame has reported them; but becauſe

Athens

Athens abounded with such great and eminent Writers, their Actions were so *hyperbolically* celebrated, and their Valour had as great an *Encomium*, as the best Wits of the Age could express in words.

But the *Romans* had never that *Vacation*, because every of the most prudent and sage men, were ever employ'd in the most weighty Affairs; and no one amongst them exercis'd the Gifts of the Mind without those of the Body: the * best men knew *that Vertue consisted in Action*, and were more addicted to do, than talk; and had rather their good deeds should be commended by others, than that they themselves should be Trumpets to sound forth their own Praise. Every where, both at home and abroad, *good Manners* were their onely study: Joyn'd with the greatest *Friendship*, and the least *Self-interest*, † *Goodness*, and

* *Est quàm videri bonus malebat.* sic Æschilus, Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει.

† Vid. Dom. Gal. de Civit. Del, lib. 2. cap. 18.

and Honesty more prevailed with them by the Law of Nature, than of Nations: Their Enemies were the onely Objects of their Wrath, Hatred, and Discontents; and the onely Strife among themselves was, how one Citizen should outdo another in works of Vertue; in their Devotions to the Gods they were liberal; parcimonious at home, and very true and faithful to their Friends: They maintain'd themselves and the Commonwealth by these two Arts; in War, *Courage*; and in Peace, *Justice*.

For I have known punishment to be inflicted oftener on those who contrary to command have fought against their Enemies, and though call'd home, returned but unwillingly, than on those who have basely deserted their Colours, and given way to the Enemy. But in Peace they exercis'd their Authority more by Mildness than Severity, and had rather pardon and pass by an Injury, than endeavour to revenge it. But when by In-

Induſtry and Juſtice they had raiſed the *Republick* to its Grandeur, great (yet conquer'd) Kings, mighty Nations, and vaſt Multitudes, were ſubdued by the *Roman* Valour; and *Carthage*, that was emulouſly fir'd at the Glory of the *Roman Empire*, lay buried in its own Ruines; both Sea and Land lay open to them, and *Fortune* began to play mad freaks, and make a mixture of every thing: Thoſe who had undergone all Labours and dangerous Adverſities, left Riches and Idleneſs to be wiſht for by others, and accounted them as a burden too heavy to be born.

And therefore firſt an immoderate deſire of Riches, and then of Soveraignty, ſo far increaſed, that they became the Subject and Original of all Miſchiefs: for *Covetouſneſs having ſubverted Faith, Honeſty, and all good Arts, taught men Pride, Cruelty, Contempt of the Gods, and Bribery, and compelled the greateſt part of Mankind into Falſhood, to ſpeak one thing*

and

and think another, and to value Friendſhip not for its own ſake, but for the profit that attended it; and to regard more the outward countenance of the Face, than the inward beauty of the Mind. Theſe things at firſt grew by degrees to an height, at length to be pleaded for and vindicated.

Afterwards when this Contagion like a Peſtilence had infected the whole City, the Empire, which before was moſt juſt and excellent, was metamorphos'd into cruel and intolerable. At firſt indeed *Ambition* poſſeſs'd the minds of men more than Covetouſneſs, being the more plauſible Vice, and nearer reſembling Vertue: for the nature of the wiſe man and the ignorant are alike deſirous of Glory, Honour, and Command; but the one takes juſt and true meaſures, and the other (blinded with unlearned Ignorance) by unjuſt and deceitful Fallacies, endeavours to attain them. Covetouſneſs is no other than a ſtrict ſearch

and

and a fixt desire after Riches; *which no wise man was ever guilty of*, because it has that poysonous quality, to render both the Mind and Body weak and effeminate: 'tis infinite and unsatiable; neither is it possible for Plenty or Want to hinder or diminish it.

But after the *Commonwealth* was retaken by *L. Sylla*, his good beginnings were attended with far otherwise events: for the Army fell immediately to Rapine and Violence; one coveted this house, and another that field: neither had they any Conscience or Modesty, but made the poor Citizens the deplorable Objects of their Cruelty and Outrage.

Hence it came to pass that *L. Sylla*, that he might the more endear the Army (he led into *Asia*) to himself, gave it a toleration for all Luxury and Debauchery: for the bewitching delicacies of the Place, and the pleasures of Peace, soon turn'd the flinty breasts of Souldiers into softness and effeminacy. There

There was the fatal place where first the Roman Army grew to an habit of *Luſt* and *Intemperance*; here they firſt came to admire painted Tables and imboſs'd Cups, and privately and publickly to ſteal and plunder, rob Temples, and make no diſtinction at all between things ſacred and prophane; ſo that whereever they came and were victorious, they never left any thing for the conquer'd to enjoy.

For proſperous Events are a great clog to the Spirits of wiſe men, leſt they too ſhould become Slaves to their own Victory; but when the richeſt men were accounted the moſt honourable, and that onely they were inveſted with Command and Authority, the edge of Valour was ſoon blunted, Poverty was accounted a Reproach, and Innocence a moroſe Ill-nature.

So that Riches were the unhappy cauſe that Luxury, Avarice, and Pride, ſo generally invaded the whole *Roman Youth*,

Youth, that they were given up to Rapine and Prodigality; to be profuſe of their own Eſtates, and yet very covetous of anothers; to ſet no value either on Shame or Modeſty, but to mingle divine and humane things promiſcuouſly alike.

It was a Golden time when whole Houſes and Villages, built after the forms of Cities, came to viſit the Temples of the Gods, founded by our moſt religious Anceſtors; when they adorn'd the Temples of the Gods with Piety and Devotion, and their own houſes with Renown and Honour; when they never debarr'd the Conquered of any thing, but onely the liberty of doing Injuries.

But on the contrary, theſe (rather Bruits than Men) by the greateſt Injuſtice, and the height of Villany, (as if to do Injuries was onely to make uſe of Authority) have ſtript their Companions of all thoſe Priviledges that were left them by their moſt valiant Conquerors:

For

For why should I tell you things which unless seen are incredible, that many private men have levell'd Mountains, and drain'd Oceans, to whom their Riches seem'd as a Play-game, and though lawful enough in themselves, yet were wilfully abus'd to all manner of Impiety.

Neither did they rest here, but no less immoderate desire of Filthiness and Folly, and other unlawful Extravagancies, did possess them: even men chang'd the course of Nature, and acted the parts of women; and women did no less impudently prostitute their shame in *publick*; both Sea and Land were ransackt to afford them Delicates *to please the witty gluttony of a Meal*; and they took greater delight in Sloth and Drowsiness, than in a moderate Sleep and natural Refreshment: No longer did they undergo Hunger, Thirst, Cold, or Hardships, but made every thing subservient to their Luxury.

These things, when their Prodigality had

had brought their Estates to a low ebb, fir'd the *Roman Youth* to some rash Attempt; for *a mind once polluted*, or tainted *with debaucht principles, never wants fewel to maintain them*: and therefore in every respect they gave Prodigality a greater scope, and a freer career.

Patriæ Parricida:

OR,

CATILINE's Conspiracy.

IN so great and so debaucht a City, *Catiline* had every day *Cabals* of *Pensioners* for Mischief and Villany; for every *Debauchee* that had either by *Riot*, *Gaming*, or *Whoring*, consum'd his Patrimony, or had mortgag'd his Estate to procure a Pardon for some notorious Crime; besides all *Parricides*, *Sacrilegious*, *arraign'd at the Bar*, or *deserv'd*

ſerv'd and fear'd it; beſides *Thieves*, *perjur'd*, and *Murderers*; and laſtly, all thoſe whom any *notorious Villany*, *want*, or an *evil Conſcience* had made infamous, were by *Catiline* pickt up as the fitteſt perſons for his purpoſe. Theſe were his very Family and Domeſticks; and if any one of an honeſt Reputation, free from thoſe Enormities, ever happen'd into his acquaintance, by perpetual Perſwaſions and inſenſible Allurements, he becomes a *Proſelyte* as bad as the worſt. But for the moſt part he coveted the acquaintance of young men, becauſe their Spirits are more pliable in the bloom of their age, and conſequently ſwallow the Bait with leſs difficulty; therefore he adapted a particular Temptation to every particular Conſtitution: To ſome he would become a Pander, for others he would procure Dogs and Horſes; and without regard either to Modeſty or Expence, he would never refuſe the moſt vile and abject ſervices, ſo he could but bring

bring them over to his humour, and make them true to his interest.

For *Catiline*, when but a Youth, committed several notorious Rapes, first on a noble Virgin, then on a Vestal *Nun*, and was guilty of many such egregious incestuous Extravagancies, contrary to all Law and Nature. At last he fell in love with *Aurelia Orestilla*, in whom no good man found any thing commendable but her Beauty; and because she doubted to marry him, fearing her Son-in-law, then in age, 'tis really believed he poyson'd his onely Son, to make way for their unlawful Marriage; which thing in my opinion was the chiefest cause why *Catiline* so soon endeavour'd to ripen his Conspiracy: *For a mind polluted with Impiety, is hateful both to Gods and men, and can never be setled nor compos'd with sleep nor watching.* Thus did self-guilt weary and waste his maged, turbulent breast: from thence proceeded that languid bloudless colour in

his face, staring eyes, his pace confus'd, now quick and then slow; and the uncasie discontent, and War within him, discover'd it self too apparent in his looks and gestures.

But he not onely betray'd a great part of the *Roman Youth*, but he taught them divers *Formula's* and Methods in the commission of notorious Villanies. Out of them he furnished himself with false Evidences and counterfeit Seals, insomuch that they Set all their Credit, Fortunes, and Dangers at a very despicable value.

But after he had made shipwrack of their Reputations, he soon commanded things of far greater consequence: for if but a small cause or opportunity for Mischief did occur, lest their hands should grow dull for want of use, yet their minds should be gratuitously mischievous to circumvent and ruine the Innocent as well as guilty.

Catiline reposing so great a trust and confi-

confidence in these his Friends and Allies, (considering that there was no Country but to which he and they were deeply indebted, and that *Sylla's* Souldiers were in want, who reflecting on their former Victories, wisht once more an opportunity for a Civil War) began to consult by what means he might best curb the Commonwealth, and take the Government into his own hands. In *Italy* there was no Standing-Army, and * *Cn. Pompeius* was waging War in the utmost confines of the *Roman* Empire, that he himself stood very fair for the *Consulate*, and the *Senate* nothing at all cautious and suspectful, but every thing mov'd in a safe and undisturbed Sphere; all which wonderfully favour'd his designe. And to that purpose, about the † *Calends* of *June*

* Father-in-law to *Julius Cæsar*, for his valour surnamed *Magnus*. He was of such an Heroick Spirit, that he could not admit of an Equal; and *Cæsar* so stout, that he could not endure a Superiour: whence arose the Civil Wars in *Rome*.

† Which was about the beginning of *June*, for the *Calends* were the first day of every month. *Vid. Godw. Antiq. Rom.*

he first began to discover it apart, to perswade some, and allure others, and promise all, that the Aids and Forces he should have (considering the *Commonwealth* was careless and unprovided) would make the rewards of the Conspiracy great and answerable. When he had discovered what he thought convenient, he summon'd all those, the greatness of whose wants afforded them the greatest stock of Resolution and Boldness.

Thither came of the Senatorian Order, *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antronius*, *L. Cassius*. *C. Cethegus*, the two *Sylla's*, *P.* and *Serv.* *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Læca*, *L. Bestia*, and *Q. Curius*.

Of the Equestrian Order (or Knights) came *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Stantius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, *C. Cornelius*, besides many nobly descended out of the Colonies, and free Towns. Many more Noblemen were made more privately acquainted with it; whom the desire and

hopes

hopes of Command, more than Want or Necessity, perswaded to be Traytors. The rest that favour'd the Designe were for the most part of the *Roman* Nobility, who desir'd to live in ease either splendidly, or effeminately; preferring * *Chimæra's* before Realities, and the dubious events of War, before the certain tranquillity of a settled Peace.

* *Sic in bello Jugurthino.* Quanquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare. Item *Plautus, in Pseud.* Certa amittimus, dum incerta petimus. Et *Hesiodus,* Νήπιος, ὃς τὰ ἕτοιμα λοιπῶν, ἀνέτοιμα δοκεῖν.

At that time there were some that thought that *M. Licinius Crassus* was not altogether ignorant of the *Association*, because he bore an inveterate hatred to *Cn. Pompeius*, who was then General of a great Army, and was very willing to raise any Forces whatsoever to curb his growing Greatness, hoping that if the Plot had took effect, to make himself Commander in his stead.

When they were all met, *Catiline*, though he had discovered several things be-

before apart, yet thought that in this matter 'twas expedient to convene all, to give them a sufficient satisfaction of the goodness and justice of his *Cause*; took them apart into a private Room, and thus bespoke them.

'In vain were all opportunities of 'time and place, and pregnant hopes of 'Dominion and Soveraignty, if either 'your Valour or Integrity were in the 'least to be suspected; neither would I 'through ignorance or a capricious humour, leave a substance to embrace a 'shadow, or refuse solid certainties to 'grasp empty hopes, or Clouds of Air: 'but since in many and prodigious difficulties I have had sufficient experience 'of your Courage and Honesty, my 'mind prompts me on to undertake the 'greatest and the most honourable Enterprize imaginable: for I do know what 'things will turn to the profit and disadvantage of us all; and for you to *Will* 'and *Nill* the same with me, is the very

'height

'height and complement of Friendship.
'What I now designe, you have been
'severally acquainted with, how glorious
'and honourable our Undertaking is;
'but my Spirit is more inflam'd, when I
'reflect how miserable the residue of our
'lives will be, unless by some noble At-
'tempt on the publick *Liberty* we endea-
'vour to evade it.

'For as soon as the *Commonwealth* was
'delivered to a few rich and powerful
'men, mighty Kings and Tetrarchs be-
'came their Tributaries, vast Multitudes
'and whole Nations became their Vas-
'sals, and paid them Stipends; and we
'that are truly valiant, honest, and no-
'bly born, have been rank'd with the ig-
'noble Vulgar, and been basely subject
'to their humours, without any Autho-
'rity, or the least mark of Greatness, to
'whom (were things justly manag'd) we
'should appear great and formidable:
'for we see that all Command, Honour,
'and Riches, are absolutely possess'd and

'disposed of by them, when onely Dangers, Disgrace, and Poverty are all our fortunes; which how long (O invincible Spirits) will ye undergo! Is it not much more honourable to die in the Bed of Honour in a Righteous Cause, than lose a miserable and a sordid life in the base service of a Great man's Pride? But now (O the faith of Gods and men!) Victory smiles, and seems ready to put her triumphant Palm into our hands; and what should hinder? Is not the power in our hands? our Age in its full strength and vigour? and our Courage equal to our Age? and every thing as it were conspires to make us absolutely happy? When on the contrary, to them, Age, Riches, and Security, render every thing old and tedious. *Nothing now remains but the Attempt it self.* (O but things the justice of our Cause and the necessity of our Action will consequently dispatch: for what one of us, that hath the true

'*Roman*

'Roman blood flowing within him, can 'endure that such men should have so 'great an affluence of Riches, even whole 'worlds of Treasure, which they pro-'fusely waste in Riots and Excess, in 'levelling Mountains, and draining Seas; 'when we, who are far more meritori-'ous and deserving, cannot supply the 'necessitous wants of our selves and Fa-'milies: they are happy in the number 'of their Palaces, and we miserable in 'the want of a small House, or a seat'd 'Habitation. They can purchase rich 'Attick Tables, carv'd Images, and em-'boss'd Cups; pull down this new Stru-'cture, and raise another, and endeavour 'by all means imaginable to consume and 'even torment their Treasures, which are 'as boundless as their Passions; while 'we labour under the intolerable burden 'of Wants at home, Debts abroad, in a 'deplorable condition, and much more 'deplorable hopes: and therefore what 'should hinder an immediate Insurrecti-

'on?

'on? Lo, *Liberty*, *Liberty*! the God-
'deſs whom you oft have courted, now
'courts you, attended with that ineſti-
'mable Dowry of Riches, Honour, and
'Renown. *Fortune* has deſign'd theſe
'Rewards onely for Conquerours; and
'now the Cauſe, Opportunity, Danger,
'Want, and all the ſplendid Spoils of
'glorious War, ſhould have a greater
'influence upon *your* Spirits, than an ex-
'cellent Oration, though deckt with the
'choiceſt Flowers of pleaſing Rhetorick.
'Either uſe me as a Commander, or a
'Souldier; both my Preſence and my
'Courage ſhall ever attend you. Theſe
'things when I am *Conſul*, with your ad-
'vice and help, I hope to effect, unleſs
'perchance my Truſt fail me, and you
'more inclin'd to live ſlaviſhly, than com-
'mand victoriouſly.

Soon as the Conſpirators had heard this, though they had neither money nor probable hopes of carrying it on, yet they thought they ſhould reap ſufficient

ſatis-

satisfaction in disturbing the Peace of the *Commonwealth*; and to that end they requir'd him to propose in what nature or condition the War should be, what Rewards, what hopes of Aid did seem to favour it. *Catiline* immediately promis'd them new Laws, the * Proscription or Sequestration of the rich mens Estates, their Magistracies, *Churchlands*, Plunder, and every thing which the will of the Conquerour should lay claim to. Besides this, *Piso* was with an Army in the yonder *Spain*, and *P. Sitius Nucerinus* in *Mauritania*, with another; both his Friends, and both Partners in the Conspiracy: that *C. Antonius*, his familiar Acquaintance, a man every where surrounded with wants and necessities, endeavour'd the *Consulship*, whom he hop'd should be his Collegue; and as soon as he had acquir'd that, he would begin the Attempt.

* They were properly said to be proscrib'd, whose Names were very fairly written and set up in the *Forum* (or Exchange) to give notice that for some Misdemeanour their Goods were to be sold, and the Malefactors banish'd.

Soon

Soon as he had ſpoke this, he fell a railing on all the *Loyal Party* with opprobrious Language, and dire Imprecations; then naming every one of his own, began to praiſe them for the nobleneſs of the Undertaking; to one he objected his Poverty, to another his Ambition; many he advis'd of the danger and diſgrace they ſhould contiue in without it: but moſtly he inſiſted on the Victory of *Sylla*, and the rich Spoils and Plunder that attended it. At length, when he perceived the joy of their hearts appear in their looks, deſiring them to conſider what he had recommended to them, he diſmiſs't the *Conventicle*.

At that time there were ſome that reported that *Catiline*, after he had made an Eloquent Oration to allure the Inſtruments of his Miſchief to an Oath of Secrecy, gave each one a Cup of Wine mixt with * *Human Blood*; which when (with an

* *Hac de re Florus ſic ſcribit.* Additum eſt pignus Conjurationis Sanguinis humanus, quem circumlatum pateris bibere. Summum Nefas, niſi amplius eſſet, propter quod biberunt.

an Execration, as is usual in solemn Sacrifices) they had drunk off, he discover'd every Circumstance of his hellish Intrigue. And this they report he did, that, seeing they were scared with the horridness of the Plot, they might be the more faithful one to another, and keep the Designe more secure from discovery.

In this *Association* there was one *Q. Curius* of a Noble Family, but involv'd in all debauche and villanous practices, whom the *Censors* banisht the Senate for his scandalous deportment. This man as he was bold and daring, so he was very foppish and idle; he could neither be secret in things imparted to him, nor cease to be the Divulger of his own Debaucheries, making no distinction at all between what he did or said.

Betwixt him and *Fulvia*, a Lady nobly descended, was contracted a very intimate and immodest Familiarity; to whom when Poverty had render'd him less

less acceptable, he immediately boasted of and promis'd Golden Mountains, and I know not what impossibilities; sometimes threatning her with death if she did not incline to his lawless humour; at length came to be more boldly rude than usual.

But *Fulvia* so prudently manag'd him, that by degrees she got out of him the Cause of his insolence, and thought that a matter of that dangerous consequence to the *Commonwealth*, ought not to be longer kept private; insomuch that many whom she made acquainted with it, were very desirous to intrust the management of the Commonwealth to *M. Tullius Cicero*, whom before most of the Nobility envy'd, and thought it a degradation to the *Consular dignity*, that so great an honour should be conferr'd on such a new Upstart person, though of extraordinary Parts and Abilities; but when danger made things look with so ill an aspect, that Envy and Pride suddenly vanish'd and gave place to Safety. There-

Therefore in the next *Senate*, *M. Tullius Cicero* and *C. Antonius* were declared **Consuls*; which at first struck the Conspirators with a *Panick* fear: Neither was the rage and madness of *Catiline* any whit abated, but urg'd him to greater and more fatal Resolutions.

* *Sic dicti, à Consulendo Populo*: No Citizen could be made *Consul*, till the forty third year of his age.

For now he began to fortifie several of the most convenient and chiefest places in *Italy*, and sent Money to *Manlius* at *Fæsulæ*, which he had borrow'd both on his own and the account of his Friends. This *Manlius* became afterwards the Head of the Rebellion.

He betray'd likewise a vast number of all sorts and conditions, besides some women who had got vast Estates by the prostitution of their bodies. Even these *Catiline* design'd to be instrumental to his *Association*, who by Courtship and other verbal Services, should engage their Husbands to his interest, and if not, to kill them.

Amongst

Amongst these was the Lady *Sempronia*, a true *Virago*, who commonly committed many notorious Mischiefs with a masculine impudence. This woman was very nobly descended, and of an excellent beauty, very happy in a Noble Husband and lovely Children, learn'd in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, could sing and dance more * ingeniously than an honest woman ought to do, and had several more qualifications subservient to her wanton Luxury: she accounted any thing at an equal value with Vertue and Modesty; and it would be very difficult to discern whether she was more prodigal of her Money or her Reputation; being so naturally lascivious, that rather than not be courted, she would court others.

* *Sempronian* hic reprehendit *Salustius*, non quod saltare, sed quod optimè scierit, quod ut vitium Notavit *Æmilius Probus* in *Epaminondæ* vita.

But this woman had before this made shipwrack of her Fame and Credit, was perjur'd, guilty of Murder, and involv'd in

in all manner of Luxury and Necessity.

But her Wit and Parts were not in the least despicable; she could compose Rhymes and Sonets, was very jocular in all Society, and could talk either modestly, moderately, or lasciviously, and had indeed a great deal of *Complaisance* and Gentility in her Conversation.

These things done, and the Plot so far laid, *Catiline* the ensuing year endeavoured no less vigorously for the *Consulate* than before, hoping that if he was chosen, he should manage *C. Antonius*, and cast him in what mould he pleas'd.

Neither was he now quiet, but sought by all means possible to intrap *Cicero*, who was no less sedulously cautious to prevent him: for from the beginning of his Consulate he so manag'd *Fulvia*, that she promis'd to induce *Q. Curius* to discover the whole Association. Moreover, he sent away *C. Antonius* his Colleague to the Government of a *Province*, suspecting lest he also should have some

private grudges against the Commonwealth; and had continually a private party of his Friends and Clients about him for the safeguard of his person.

But when the *Council*-day came, and *Catiline* saw that none of his Designes and Stratagems against the *Consul* took effect, resolv'd immediately to take Arms and absolutely try the utmost event of all things, since all his Contrivances met with a far different Event than he expected.

Upon this he dispatched away *Manlius* to *Fæsulæ*, and other parts of *Etruria*; *Septimius* to the Territories of *Picenum*; and *C. Julius* into *Apulia*; some one way, and some another, as he thought convenient.

In the mean time he himself was not idle at *Rome*, but still plotted the ruine of the *Consul*, to prepare fit Instruments and Materials for firing the City, and to beset strong and convenient places with armed men, to be himself armed, to

com-

command and exhort others to be prepared and in readineſs for what they were to execute, to be active and vigilant both by night and day, and let no labour nor hardſhip in the leaſt weary nor diſcompoſe them.

But at laſt, when he ſaw nothing take effect, at an unſeaſonable time of night he ſummon'd the Chief of the Conſpiracy by *M. Porcius Lecca*, complaining of their ſloath and tardineſs in ſo weighty an Affair. He gave them to underſtand, that he had ſent *Manlius* before to thoſe Forces which he had order'd to be in Arms, and others into other opportune places, to *commence* the War; and that he himſelf deſir'd to haſten to the Army, if by any means poſſible he could firſt kill *Cicero*, becauſe he was the chiefeſt hindrance and countermine to all his undertakings.

At this they were all ſtartl'd, and very dubious what the Event might be. At length *C. Cornelius* a *Roman* Knight,

and *L. Vargunteius* a Senator, resolv'd that very night or the next morning to take a few armed men, and go by way of visit to salute *Cicero*, and so surprizingly to kill him at his own house.

But when *Q. Curius* understood how great and imminent a danger threaten'd the *Consul*, he immediately made *Fulvia* the happy Instrument of its discovery, insomuch that when they came to the door, they were deny'd entrance; and for so great and noble an Exploit, had onely their labour for their pains.

In the mean time *Manlius* rais'd the *Rabble* in *Etruria*, who were very desirous of Reformation, because their present Wants and Grievances brought to their remembrance, that in the *Usurpation* of *Sylla* their Estates were *sequestred*, and their Goods *confiscated*.

Besides these, there were a great number of *Banditi* or Robbers (of which that Country abounded) and some of *Sylla*'s old Souldiers; though they had such

ich Plunder and large Spoils, yet their
uſt and Luxury left them nothing to
enjoy.

When *Cicero* underſtood this, a dubi-
ous fear preſently poſſeſs'd him, leſt the
City could no longer be defended from
their Treachery by a private Council.
Neither was he ſufficiently ſatisfi'd how
ſtrong the Army of *Manlius* was, nor
what it immediately deſign'd to do, but
makes the Senate acquainted with the
whole matter, which was heighten'd and
aggravated before by the Rumours of the
common people.

Upon this, the *Senate* immediately de-
creed (as is uſual in matters of great
conſequence) that it ſhould be the care
of the *Conſuls*, what in them lay, to en-
deavour the Security of the Common-
wealth, and gave Commiſſions to the
Magiſtracy to raiſe an Army, wage War,
to engage Friends and Citizens, and to
exerciſe full power and authority both
abroad and at home.

Not long after, *L. Senius* (or *Servius*) read some Letters in the *Senate*, which he reported to come from *Fæsulæ*; the Contents of which were, That *Manlius* was in the Field with a great Army, the 5th of the Calends of *November*: Some related several ominous Portents and Prodigies; others, that there were several private Cabals and Consults, how to send Arms to *Capua*, and raise a servile War in *Apulia*. Therefore the *Senate* decreed that *Q. M. Rex*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus*, should be sent, the one into *Fæsulæ*, and the other into *Apulia*, and the neighbouring places.

But the *Prætors* *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, and *Q. Metellus Celer*, were sent the one into *Capua*, and the other to the Territories of *Picenum*, with orders to raise such an Army as the time and danger did require.

Moreover, the *Senate* decreed that large

* *Quod prætext Populo*: That judg'd matters within the City, and had usually places of Command in the Army; the number at last came to sixteen.

large Rewards should be given to any one that would make any discovery of the Conspiracy, (*viz.*) To a Servant *Freedom*, and an hundred *Sesterces*; to a freed man a Par- don, and two hundred: They decreed likewise, that the Companies of the *Gladiators* should be drawn out and sent into *Capua*, and other municipal places, as there should be occasion; and that continual Guards and Watches should be set over the whole City, and some inferiour Magistrate should command them.

* *Libertus*: He or she that had serv'd as an Apprentice, and was afterwards manumis'd, was call'd *Libertus*, or *Liberta*.

Upon this the whole City was in a Consternation, and every thing look'd with a far different Aspect than before; for instead of their excessive Mirth and Wantonness, (the effects of Idleness) Sorrow and Grief invaded every one; Terrour and *Panick* Fear so disorder'd them, that they would neither trust to the safety of any place, nor the honesty

of any man; they were so confus'd that they were unfit to make War, or live in Peace, measuring the greatness of their Danger by the greatness of their Fear.

Moreover, the tender women, whom the unaccustomed fear of War had affrighted, had regard to the greatness and glory of the *Commonwealth*, neither ceas'd they from being the Afflictors and Tormentors of their own breasts, and with up-lift hands to Heaven implor'd its mercy on their poor Children. Often would they ask confused Questions, and tremble at every shadow. Pride and Delicacy were now no more, since they distrusted their own Country, and themselves too.

But the *cruel* and inraged breast of *Catiline* still persisted in the carrying on of his Villanies, notwithstanding such strong Watches were set every where. To dissemble his Hypocrisie, and excuse himself as if justly provok'd, he came into the *Senate*. Then *M. Tullius Cicero*,

either

either startl'd with fear at his pretence, or mov'd with indignation, made a very eloquent and profitable Oration for the *Commonwealth*. When he had done, *Catiline*, who had the gift of Dissimulation, with a *demure look*, *and a low voice*, requested the Fathers not to give a rash credit to every idle Report, but should consider, that as he was descended of a Noble Family, so he ever fram'd his life from his Youth up, that he had a prospect of every thing good and honourable; that they should reflect he was one of their own Order, a *Patrician*, whose Ancestors had well and nobly deserv'd for their many Favours and Kindnesses to the *Roman* Commonalty; that there would be no need of conspiring the Ruine of the *Commonwealth*, so long as *M. T. Cicero*, an Inmate, private Citizen of *Rome*, sate at its Helm for its preservation.

Soon as he had spoken these and other opprobrious words against the *Consul*,

ſid, they were all ſtartl'd, and began to brand him with the diſhonourable terms of Enemy, Monſter, and Parricide: He, with a furious and raging tranſport anſwered, *Since I am thus circumvented by my Enemies, the Fire that I have kindled ſhall be quenched by their Ruine.* With that he went haſtily out of the *Senate* to his own houſe, and there ruminated on many things to himſelf, that ſince all his Snares for the *Conſul* prov'd ineffectual, and that the City was ſo well ſecur'd, that there was no poſſibility left of firing it, he thought beſt to increaſe the number of his Army, and before the Legion ſhould be muſter'd, to take ſeveral things with him that might be ſerviceable to him in the War: ſo late at night he departed the City, and ſet forward to the Camp of *Manlius*; but gave orders before to *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* (in whoſe boldneſs and reſolution he had the greateſt confidence) that they ſhould what in them lay, ſtrengthen the Faction, haſten

sten to dispatch the *Consul*, and get ready the Instruments of Ruine, and Fire, and other Engines of War, and that he himself within a few days would meet them with his Ensigns at the City-walls.

In the mean time *Manlius* sends a Messenger to *Q. Martius Rex*, with such a Message as this:

We call the Gods and men to witness, O General, that we took Arms not to the ruine of our Country, nor to the hazard and detriment of any other; but onely for our own security, that we being made miserable and indigent by the Cruelty and Exaction of our *Usurers*, are out of all hopes of our Country, Fame, and Fortune: for their and the *Prætors*, boundless Extortion has been such, that we are not allow'd (as our Forefathers were) the use and priviledges of our own Laws; and since the loss of our Patrimonies, have not had the liberty of our bodies. Many times have our Ancestors in compassion to the *Roman* Commons,

suppli'd

supply'd their necessities, and very lately, within our own memories, the greatness of their Debts being such, that by the consent of all good men, Brass has pass'd currant instead of Silver.

For the common People being fir'd with the desire of Command, and justly provok'd by the pride and injustice of their Magistrates, have oftentimes degenerated from the vertues of their Fathers, and shook off the heavy Yoak of the *Roman Senate*.

But for us, we neither desire Command nor Riches, (the unhappy Original of all the Jars and Discontents of mankind) but onely *Liberty, which no good man will ever part with, without lise.* We conjure you and the whole *Senate*, to consult the Quiet and Welfare of the miserable Citizens, and restore them the safeguard and defence of those Laws which the Injustice and Avarice of the *Prætors* have taken from them; for we would not have it said, that you should

impose

impose on us the necessity of requiring by what means and methods we should fall in the Revenge of our own Blood.

To which *Marcius* returned answer, That if they intended to have any favour of the *Senate*, they should quit their Arms, and return submissively to *Rome*: that the *Senate* and *Roman* People were ever of that Generosity and Clemency, that no Petition of Redress of Grievances was ever in vain, or ineffectual.

But *Catiline* as he was on his Journey, sent Letters to many of the Chief of the *Senate*, intimating that he was falsly accus'd of Crimes he knew not; and because he could not withstand the faction and malice of his Enemies, he thought better to submit to Fortune: that he was gone an *innocent man* to Exile into *Massilia*, not because he was guilty of what was laid to his charge, but onely for the quiet of the *Commonwealth*, whose Peace he more studied than any seditious Contention, or the vindication of

his

his own Innocence. Several Letters of this purport *Catulus* read in the *Senate*, delivered to him in the name of *Catiline*; of which, this was one.

L. Catiline to *Q. Catulus*, health.

YOur extraordinary love and favour that were ever grateful to me in my greatest dangers, hath given me the boldness for this Commendation; wherefore I thought fit not to speak any thing in my own defence in a new *Senate*, nor to propose any satisfaction out of any self-guilt of what I am accused: which (I take Heaven to witness) that you may know the truth, being so much provokt by the continual Injuries and Affronts put upon me, being depriv'd of the Fruit and Profit of all my Industry, and not obtaining the state of Dignity I stood Candidate for, I undertook (as I am wont) the Cause of the Afflicted; not but that I could make sufficient satisfaction

tisfaction for all the Debts contracted on my account out of my own Estate, and the Generosity of *Aurelia Orestilla* can satisfie the rest out of her own and her Daughters Revenues: but because I saw men worthy of all Honour not preferr'd, and my self alienated from the affections of the *Senate* by a false suspition, on this account I prosecuted very honourable hopes of preserving the residue of the Dignity for my own sake. I would write more, but news is brought me that the *Senate* prepares for Arms: wherefore I commend *Orestilla* to your care and protection; defend her from all Injuries, since it is the request of us both. *Farewel.*

But he himself staid a few days with *Flaminius* at *Rheatium*, to supply that City with Arms; then with the * *Fasces*, and other Imperial Ensignes went to the Camp to *Manlius*. Soon

* Bundles of Rods carri'd as a mark of Honour and Justice before the *Consul*, and other great and eminent Officers.

Soon as these things were known at *Rome*, the *Senate* immediately proclaim'd *Catiline* and *Manlius* Enemies to the *Republick*, and appointed a day for the rest of the Conspirators, and those that were already condemn'd for capital Crimes, before they could possibly quit their Arms; decreeing likewise that the *Consuls* should have a *Dilectum*, and that *Antonius* should hasten to follow *Catilin* with his Army, and *Cicero* be left for the safeguard of the City.

At that time the Roman Empire seemed to be in a very low ebb of Fortune; though all their Conquests from the East to the West were at their beck, at home Pleasures and Riches (the *summum bonum* of some men) flow'd in with a Spring-tyde, yet there were some factious Citizens of that perverse and obstinate Spirit, who then endeavour'd what in them lay the Ruine of the Commonwealth and themselves too, for the lucre of the Reward promis'd by the two

Decre-

Decretals of the *Senate*, had not that influence on one of so great a Multitude as to prompt him to discover the least particle of the Conspiracy: neither did one of *Catiline*'s Souldiers prove a *Renegado*, so much did the *Witchcraft of Rebellion possess the minds of most of the Citizens*. Neither was it the opinion onely of those concern'd in the *Association*, but the greatest part of the common people were so in love with *Reformation*, that they favour'd and approv'd of his Undertakings, or at least seem'd so.

For always *in a great City all good and loyal persons become the Envy of the poor and factious*; whereas on the contrary, *wicked Incendiaries are most extoll'd*; who hating Antiquities, were in love with Novelties, willing to exchange present Realities for future Uncertainties; being bred and foster'd onely by Noise and Sedition, without any care or foresight.

For Poverty is easily obtain'd without

loss, but the common Citizens urged themselves headlong to their own ruine, especially those who excelled others in Cheats and Cozenage; secondly, those whose loss of Patrimony was attended with disgrace and necessity; and lastly, those whom any wicked and nefarious Villany had banisht *Rome*: These at that time fled to the City as to a Brothel; and many calling to remembrance the Usurpation of *Sylla*, that they saw some from common Souldiers become Senators; others so opulent, that they liv'd rather like Princes than common Subjects; every one hop'd that if Victory attended their Swords, the same or a better fortune: Besides, the Country Youth, who earn'd their Bread in the fields by the sweat of their brows, being fir'd with their profuse prodigality both in private and *publick*, preferr'd the idle life and pleasures of the City before the ungrateful toyl and labour of the Country.

Not

Not onely theſe, but all, were infected with the ſame diſeaſe; by which it is the leſs to be admir'd that indigent perſons, indued with ill principles, having ſuch hopes, conſulted not ſo much the good of the *Republick*, as their own intereſts: beſides, thoſe whoſe Parents were baniſht, and had their Eſtates *ſequeſtred*, and their Rights and Priviledges poſſeſſion'd by the *Uſurpation* of *Sylla*, expected the Event of this War to be little different from that. Moreover, thoſe who were of a different Opinion and Party from that of the *Roman* Senate, had rather the Commonwealth ſhould be diſturb'd, than they themſelves be the leſs quiet. Thus the old Miſchief, after the revolution of ſome years, return'd to infect the City once agen.

For when the Power of the **Tribunes* was reſtor'd (in the Conſulate of *Cn. Pompeius*, and *M. Craſſus*) the

* Of which there were two ſorts, *Tribuni militum*, who had onely authority in matters military; and *Tribuni Plebis*, Protectors of the People, *Anglicè*, Sheriffs.

Roman Youth, having attain'd the height of Power, their Age and Spirits being alike fierce and untam'd, began to imitate the *Rabble* by criminating the Actions of the *Senate*; and by degrees increasing them more and more by Bribes and Promises, made themselves very popularly famous. On the contrary, most of the Nobility of the *Senate*, for the honour of the *Commonwealth*, and their own *Grandeur*, endeavour'd what in them lay to oppose them.

But after that *Cn. Pompeius* was sent to the *Maritime* and *Mithridatick* War, the Riches of the common People were diminisht, and the Empire fell into the hands of a few. These men had all *Magistracies*, *Provinces*, and every thing else in their own possession, and were altogether absolute and uncontroulable, leading their lives without any fear or danger, and aw'd all others by the terrour of their Laws to reduce the Commonalty into a better Obedience: but

the first opportunity that offer'd any hopes, blew up the Coals of Dissention afresh within them. But to return.

If *Catiline* had departed *Rome* at first, with an Army equal to the Commonwealth, a mighty Slaughter and Calamity had inevitably befallen it; neither would those who had been victorious have been long able to retain their Conquest, but he that had the stronger Party would obtain the Empire from the more weak and infirm.

Besides those that were now concern'd in the Conspiracy, there were some who sided with *Catiline* before; among these was one *Fulvius* the Son of a Senator, whom being taken in his Journey, his Father commanded to be slain. At that time at *Rome* was also *Lentulus*, who by the instigation of *Catiline* seduced (either by himself or others) all, whose Manners and Fortunes he thought render'd them desirous of *Reformation*;

not

not onely Citizens, but all sort of People that might aid a War.

To that purpose he employs one *Umbrenus* to sollicite to Embassadours of the * *Allobroges*, and decoy them, if possible, into the horrid *Association*, supposing (as indeed they were) that they were deeply taxed both abroad and at home. Moreover he knew the † *Gauls* were naturally a fierce and *warlike* People, and might easily be brought over to such a Designe.

* A very fierce and Warlike People that inhabited some part of *Gallia*, and were tributaries to the *Roman* Empire. Now Inhabitants of *Dauphiny* and *Savoy*.

† *Justinus ex Trogo.* Non reges Orientis sine Mercenario Gallorum Exercitu, ulla bella Gesserunt, tantus terror Gallici Nominis, sive armorum, invicta felicitas erat, ut alter neque Majestatem suam tutam, neque amissam recuperare se posse, sine Gallicæ virtute arbitrarentur.

This *Umbrenus* was known to, and well acquainted with the Chiefs and Magistrates of all their Cities, because he had for some time been employed in *Gallia* by the *Roman Senate*; and therefore

fore he took an opportunity when he saw the Embassadours in the *Forum*, asking them a few Questions concerning the state and condition of their City, and as it were condoling their Misfortunes, he began to inquire of them what end they hop'd to expect of all their Miseries; but when he heard them complain of the covetousness of their Magistrates, that they accus'd the *Roman Senate* because they afforded them no Redress, and that they expected nothing but Death to be their Remedy; But I (said he) provided you will shew your selves men, can put you into a method how you may easily avoid these Extremities.

* Forum has several significations, but I suppose this to be the place where Orations were made to the People, and where Controversies in Law were judicially determin'd.

When he had said this, the *Allobroges*, big with expectation, entreated *Um-*

Umbrenus to commiserate their Condition, and promis'd that there was nothing so hard and difficult, but they would to the utmost of their power endeavour to accomplish, if by any means possible he could deliver their Cities from the rigour of their Taxes.

Presently he leads them into the house of *Decius Brutus*, because it was near the *Forum*, and was their general Rendezvouz, for the sake of his Wife *Sempronia*; (for *Brutus* was at this time absent from *Rome*;) to his aid he calls *Gabinius*, who was endued with the better Art of Persuasion; in his presence he opens the whole Plot, and to induce them the more discovers the Confederates and the rest that were concern'd therein: and when they had consented, and promis'd what Aid they could afford, they were dismiss'd.

But

But the *Allobroges* were long in suspense what Course to steer; on the one side, were their Debts and Exactions, desire of War, and a prospect of the vast Rewards of Victory; on the other, greater Riches and Aids, safe Counsel, and instead of uncertain Hopes, certain Rewards. Consulting these things, at length Fortune favour'd the *Commonwealth*; upon this they discover'd what they knew to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, (under whose Patronage their City then was) *Cicero* being acquainted with it by *Sanga*, order'd the Embassadors still seemingly to favour the Conspiracy, accordingly to meet them, promise them well, and do their Endeavour to make themselves acquainted with as much as possible. About the same time were there Insurrections in both *Gallia's*, in the Territories of *Picenum*, and at *Brutium* in *Apulia*; for those whom *Catiline* had sent away before, rashly and inconsiderately manag'd every thing, according to their own Will, and caus'd more Fear than Danger by

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IRREGULAR

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PAGINATION.

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their nightly *Cabals*, Conveyance of Armour and Darts, by their urging and hastening every thing; of which number *Quintus Metellus Celer* (being made acquainted with it by the Senate) put many into Chains and Irons; the like did *C. Muræna* in yonder *Gallia*, who was Lieutenant of that *Province*.

But at *Rome*, *Lentulus*, with the rest of the Chief of the Conspiracy that were ready with their Forces, so design'd it, that as soon as *Catiline* was come into *Fæsulæ* with his Army, *L. Bestia*, the Tribune of the People, should in a select Oration lay the blame of the whole Proceeding upon *Cicero*, and lay the Envy of the most unheard of Wars upon the best of *Consuls*, and by a certain signal the rest of the Conspirators the next Night should severally prosecute their intended mischiefs, but in this method, that *Statilius* and *Gabinius*, with a small Party, should set fire on twelve chief Places of the City; by which means they might the better come at the *Consul* and the rest for whom

they

they had laid wait; that *Cathegus* ſhould beſet the Gate of *Cicero*, and aſſaſſinate him, ſome one way and ſome another; but the Sons of Families (of which the moſt part was of the Nobility) ſhould kill their own Parents. So that every one being thunder-ſtruck as it were with Blood and Fire, ſhould confuſedly run out, and joyn with *Catiline*.

Whilſt theſe things were deſigning and preparing, *Cethegus* continually complain'd of the Sloth and Lazineſs of his Companions, that their doubting and delays had loſt them ſeveral fair and promiſing Opportunities, and that there was more need of Action than Council, in a matter of ſo great and dangerous a Conſequence, that he himſelf with the help of a few more (ſince the reſt were ſo remiſs) would ſet upon, and maſſacre the whole Senate. This *Cethegus* was naturally fierce and cruel, very dexterous, and ſucceſsful in what he undertook, and ever thought the greateſt Honour of any Action conſiſted in *Celerity*.

But the *Allobroges*, according to the Command of *Cicero*, met *Gabinius* and the rest, and required an Oath of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Cassius*, which being seal'd, would be a sure Pledge or Confirmation to their Citizens, without which it would be very difficult to induce them to favour so great and hazardous a Design, which they (not at all suspecting) freely gave. *Cassius* promised to come thither in a short time, to command what Aid they should afford, and accordingly departed the City a little before the Ambassadours. He also sent with them *P. Vulturtius*, to the end the *Allobroges*, before they return'd home, should confirm the *Association* with *Catiline*, by a mutual Obligation, himself likewise deliver'd Letters to *Vulturtius* for *Catiline*, of which this is one.

Who I am the Bearer shall acquaint you, Consider in how great a Calamity you at present are, remember that you are a man, and a Roman, *and what the present posture of your Affairs re-*

quire,

quire, get what Aid you can from every one, even the most vile and abject.

He order'd likewise *Vulturtius* to inform *Catiline*, that since the *Senate* had declared him Enemy to the Commonwealth, by what means he should refuse their Conditions if offer'd, that all things were ready in the City, which he gave Orders for, and that he should no longer delay to advance nearer.

These things done, *Cicero* being inform'd of all by the *Allobroges*, Commanded the *Prætors*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *C. Pomptinius*, by ambush to seise the *Allobroges*, and their retinue on the *Milvian* bridge. The same night that they departed, accordingly they appointed some armed Men without any noise or tumult to beset the Bridge; where, when the Ambassadours with *Vulturtius* came, the word given, on both sides the Ambush broke forth, the *Allobroges*, knowing the Design, willingly surrendred themselves; but *Vulturtius* at first encouraging the rest, defended himself from the

multitude with his Sword, but when he saw himself deserted by the Embassadours, he intreated many things of *Pomptinius*, for his own safety; and fearful, and distrustimg his life, deliver'd himself Prisoner to the *Prætors*, of which thing *Cicero* had very seasonable notice, and 'twas hard to discern whether his Joy or Care was the greater, he was glad when he consider'd, that by the Discovery of so great a Treason the City was secure from all its threatening Dangers, and was Anxious and Doubtful what to do, since such great Citizens were apprehended in so dangerous a Design, whose Envy he must needs incur, and consider'd that their punishment would be the trouble, and their Impunity the ruine of the *Commonwealth*; therefore with a resolute Courage he commanded *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinius* to be call'd before him, likewise *Ceparius*, who was preparing to go for *Apulia*, to raise Forces; the rest immediately came, but *Ceparius* a little before

before going from home, happen'd to understand the Design, and fled the City. The *Consul* taking *Lentulus* by the hand because he was *Prætor*, led him into the Senate, but the rest he commanded to attend him in the House of *Concord*, thither he assembl'd the Senate, and several of that Order introduc'd *Vulturtius* and the *Allobroges*, and *Flaccus* the *Prætor*, with the Packet of Letters he found with the Ambassadours. *Vulturtius* being demanded several things concerning the Journey and Letters, what was their Design and Purpose, and on what account he did so, at first fain'd, and dissembl'd every thing, pretending he knew nothing, and *was only travelling* for *Gallia*, but when he had the Senates faith, and the *Consul*'s word to fortify him, he made a full discovery of every Particular, that he was drawn in by *Gabinius* and *Ceparius* into the Conspiracy, that he knew no more than what he heard the Embassadours say, that they understood by *Gabinius*, that *P. Autronius*, *Ser.*

Sylla

Sylla, *L. Vargunteius*, and several others were Confederates in the *Association*, the same was Declar'd by the Embassadours, but they prov'd *Lentulus* guilty, not only by the Letters, but by some *Speeches* which he usually made use of. Concerning the Books of the * *Sybills*, that three *Cornelii* were to reign in *Rome*, that *Cinna* and *Sylla* were past before, and that he was the third, whose Fate it was to obtain the Sovereignty of the City that year, the Twentieth from the Firing of the * *Capitol*, which by Prodigies, the * *Aruspices* predicted to be very fatal to the City by a Civil War.

* Of which there were ten, who all prophesied of the Incarnation of our *Saviour*: The place wherein their Boo'ks werekept, was within the Capitol, under ground, in a Chest of Stone, where they remain'd safe till the firing of the Capitol, wherein they were burn't too.

* So call'd from a man's head found in the digging the foundation, on the *Tarpeian* mount, begun to be built, *An.* urbis 127, perfected *Anno* urb: 247, burnt *Anno* urb: 670.

* *Sic dict*: *ab aras Inspiciendo*, that divin'd, or foretold things by the Entrails of Beasts sacrific'd.

When they had read all the Letters, and every of the Conspirators had acknowledged their Seals, the Senate decreed,

creed, That *Lentulus* ſhould put off his *Prætorſhip*, and with the reſt be commit-to free Priſons. *Lentulus* was committed to *P. Lentulus Spinther*, who was then *Ædile*, *Cethegus* to *Q. Cornificius*, *Statilius* to *C. Cæſar*, *Gabinius* to M. *Craſſus*, *Ceparius* (who was taken in his flight) to *Cn. Terentius*.

The Plot thus far diſcover'd, the Common People, who before were ſo deſirous of Novelties, and too much favour'd the War, chang'd their Opinions, and began to execrate the Deſigns of *Catiline*, extoll'd *Cicero* to the Stars, and celebrated all manner of Joy and Triumph, as if they had been freed from an *Egyptian* Slavery; for they knew that War, undertaken upon any other terms, was more for plunder than deſtruction: but this being deſign'd for fire and ruin, they knew to be immoderately cruel and calamitous to themſelves.

The next day after, one *L. Tarquinius* was brought to the *Senate*, who was taken as he was going to *Catiline*; he, when

he

he promis'd to discover as much as he knew of the Conspiracy, had the Public Faith for the security of his Life. Being commanded to it by the Consul, he related almost the same with *Vulturius*, of the preparations for firing the City, the massacring of the *Loyal Party*, and the March of the Enemy.

Moreover, he said he was sent by *M. Crassus*, to tell *Catiline* that he should not be discouraged at the calamitous misery of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* that were apprehended, but should the rather hasten to approach the City, that he might put fresh Courage into the Breasts of the rest, and more easily deliver them from the threatning Danger. But when *Tarquinius* nam'd *Crassus*, a Nobleman of vast Riches, and no less Power, some thought it to be incredible, others, tho they thought it true, yet thought better that the power of so great a Person should be rather pacifi'd than exasperated. But many that depended on *Crassus*, for their own interest, gave out, that the

Evi-

Evidence was false, and desir'd that the matter might be laid aside; and therefore by the advice of *Cicero*, the whole Senate decreed, that the Evidence of *Tarquinius* was altogether false, and that he should be kept close Prisoner in Irons; Neither should confess any more till he discover'd by whose Advice he should frame so great a Lye on so Worthy and Noble a Citizen.

At that time, there were not wanting some that imagined this trick to be contriv'd by *P. Antronius*, that *Crassus* being made a Confederate in the Danger, the greatness of his Power might protect the rest. Others reported, that this *Tarquinius* was sent in by *Cicero*, lest *Crassus* should take the Conspirators into his Patronage, and so disturb the Quiet of the Commonwealth. Not long since, I heard this *Crassus* himself declaim, wherein he affirms *Cicero* to be the Author of so great a Contumely; yet at the same time *Q. Catulus* and *Cn Piso*, could neither by Favour, Intreaties, nor Bribes,

pre-

prevail with *Cicero*, that *C. Cæsar* should be falsly accus'd, either by the *Allobroges*, or any other Evidence, for both these were great Enemies to *Cæsar*, *Piso* being by him accus'd of Bribery in the open *Senate*, for the unjust punishment of a certain* *Transpadanian*; and *Catulus* hated him because in his latter years, having undergone all Offices and Honours, when he stood Candidate for the *Pontificate*, yet young *Cæsar* was preferred before him. But when by no means imaginable they could make the Consul guilty of so great a Villany, they themselves by counterfeiting his Seal, and insinuating what they pretended to understand from *Vulturtius*, and the *Allobroges*, contracted on him a great deal of Envy; insomuch that some *Roman* Knights, who were there plac'd, arm'd with Darts for a De-

*So call'd from the other side of the River *Po* in *Italy* where they inhabited.

The Pontificate was an Office to have the oversight of a Wooden Bridge, call'd *Pons Sublicius*, being so great that Carts might pass over it, having no Arches to uphold it, but only great Posts and Piles of Wood, and that which is most remarkable in it is, that it is joyn'd together only with wooden Pins, without any Iron at all.

Defence to the Houſe of *Concord*, whether out of apprehenſion of the Greatneſs of the Danger, or greatneſs of Spirit, that their Zeal to the Commonwealth might be the more apparent, threatned *Cæſar*, as he went out of the *Senate*, with their Swords.

While theſe things were doing in the *Senate*, and Rewards decreed to *Vulturtius*, and the *Allobroges* for their approv'd Evidence, the Servants and Clients of *Lentulus* were continually ſolliciting the Tradeſ-men, and Hirelings in the Streets, to deliver him by force; others made Intereſt with the Ring-leaders of the Rabble, who uſually for Pay and Reward, made factious Inſurrections in the Commonwealth: *Cethegus* on the other ſide ſent Meſſengers to ſollicit his own Family, and the Chief of his *Liberti*, that were train'd up in bold and daring Enterprizes, that getting an head, they ſhould reſcue him by force of Arms.

As ſoon as this came to the Conſul's Ears, he ſet ſuch Guards and Watches over

over them as he thought convenient and necessary, and assembling the Senate, demanded what they intended to do with the Conspirators they had in Custody, who in a full Senate were found guilty of Treason against the Commonwealth.

Then *D. Junius Silanus*, because he was next design'd Consul, being ask't his Judgment, not only against those that were already in Custody, but also against *L. Cassius*, *P. Furius*, *P. Umbrenus*, and *Q. Annius*, if they should be taken, he Decreed they should suffer such punishment as the Laws require.

But when *Cæsar* was ask'd his Judgment he spoke after this manner.

Sic Demosth. Ἐδει μὲν τὸς λέγοντας ἁπάντας ἀνυμίν μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα, μήτε πρὸς χάριν, &c.

Conscript Fathers,

THose who consult of things dubious and dangerous ought to be free from all Hatred, Love, Wrath, or Pity; for that Man can never throughly look into the end of any thing when he is byas'd by any

any one of these; neither can he at the same time indulge his own Humour and be serviceable to the *Commonwealth*; where once Fancy takes place 'tis always prevalent, if Lust, it always commands; so that *Reason* becomes lost and ineffectual: I could give you large Examples, *Fathers*, of several Kings and Nations, who, led either by Prejudice or Pity, have given wrong Judgments; but I had rather treat of some of the Actions of our own Forefathers, who against the Current of their own Humours and Inclinations, have rightly and impartially administred Justice.

In the *Macedonian* War, which the *Roman* Empire wag'd with King *Perseus* the Great, and stately City of *Rhodes*, which grew famous by the Riches of the *Roman* People, was very treacherously revolted from us. Our Ancestors, when they were to give Sentence on the *Rhodians*, lest any should report he made War for the sake of Wealth or Injuries, sent them home unpunish'd. So likewise in all the *Carthaginian* Wars,

Wars, though in Peace, and Ceſſation of Arms, they committed many nefarious Villanies, yet they conſulted more their own Honour than the Rigour of the Law. So theſe, O *Conſcript* Fathers, ſhould be your Examples. Let not the Treaſon of *Lentulus*, and the reſt, make your Dignity ſtrike ſail to your Revenge; neither let any immoderate Paſſion prevail more with you than the Senſe of your own Fame and Grandeur: for, if you could find out any Puniſhment equal to their Crimes, I ſhould willingly conſent to it; but if the greatneſs of their Wickedneſs is beyond all humane Apprehenſion, I think ſuch Puniſhments are to be inflicted as the Laws provide.

Thoſe who have given their Judgments before, have very accurately and ingeniouſly commiſerated the ſad Condition of the Commonwealth, and ſumm'd up what the inhumane Cruelty of the War would be, and what diſmal Extremities had been the Fate of the Conquer'd, our Virgins would have been raviſh'd, Chil-

dren

dren pull'd from the dear Embraces of their frighted Parents, and Matrons suffer all the base Abuses that the unbridl'd Lust of Conquerours can invent, Temples and Houses sack'd and plunder'd, Slaughter, and Fire raging in our Streets, and every thing look with the horrid Aspect of Blood and Ruine. This was the only Mark they aim'd at; but to what Purpose is all this Oration? Is it to incense you more against their Treason? Or can a fine Oration make it more hated than its own Nature? Every Man thinks his own Injuries not light and trivial, and most endeavour to revenge them with greater Passion than they ought; inferiour States and petty Republicks may change and alter upon Humour, when if they offend and punish partially, 'tis known but to a few, because they are obscure; for both their Fame and Fortunes hang in an *Æquilibrio*, and run in one and the same Channel; but they that are the Masters of the Universe, and live in that seen and conspicuous height of Fortune, all Mankind become Specta-

tors of their Actions; so that the more great and honourable they are, the less is their Liberty: for they must not in the least hate or favour any one, nor in the least be angry, for what in others is accounted Anger, in Men endu'd with Command and Empire is call'd Pride and Cruelty. I think, Fathers, that the most exquisite Torments are inferiour to their Crimes; but most Men have respect to things past, and on impious Persons, forgetting their Wickedness; they differ, only concerning the Punishment, if any thing more severe than ordinary. I know *Sylanus*, who spoke before me, to be a Loyal and Couragious Gentleman, and what he spoke to be only for the Good and Honour of the Commonwealth, that he would not in so great a Business make use either of Favour or Hatred; neither are his Manners nor his Moderation unknown to me, nor do I think his Sentence cruel or severe, (for what can be too much so against such Delinquents) but that it is unusual and hating to the *Republick*; but in-

indeed, *Sylanus* (our design'd *Consul*) fear must certainly possess thee, thus to decree a new and unheard of kind of Punishment; but 'tis superfluous to talk of Fear, when every thing is made so safe and secure by the Diligence and Conduct of so worthy a *Consul* and such strong Guards.

Concerning the Punishment, I can only say what the nature of the Thing requires; for * Death is the end of all Grief and Miseries, and is rather a pleasing Rest than a tormenting Punishment; it dissolves all humane Troubles and Afflictions, and is the only Period to all Pains and Pleasures; but (by the immortal Gods) Why did you not condemn them to be scourg'd? Is it because forbidden by the *Portian* Law? But other Laws also command Banishment, and not Death, to condemn'd Citizens; or is't because Death seems a greater Punishment than Stripes? For indeed there can be nothing too cruel and severe on Men convicted of

* *Sic* Cicero, *ita vivere, ut non sit vivendum, miserrimum est: mori autem nemo sapiens miserum duxit, ne beato quidem. Et* Eurip. *in* Theseo, Ταχὺς γὰρ ἅδης ῥᾶστος ἄνδρι δυστυχεῖ.

ſuch palpable and nōtorious Villanies? Or because it is more tolerable for Men to fear the Law in a leſs Matter when you neglect to inflict it in a greater? But who is there can find fault in any Puniſhment decreed on *Parricides*? For whatever is inflicted on ſuch is juſt and deſerved; but conſider, *Fathers*, that all ill Examples had their firſt Springs and Original from good: but when baſe and undeſerving Perſons are inveſted with Command and Empire, the Example too is alter'd, and the Empire tranſlated.

The *Lacædemonians*, when they had conquer'd *Athens*, impos'd on them *thirty Men (or rather Tyrants)* to manage the Affairs of the *Commonwealth*; theſe at firſt began to put to Death every baſe and hated Citizen, which the Common-people commended as juſt and meritorious; but ſoon after, when with their Power their Luſt encreaſed, they made no Diſtinction to put to Death Innocents and Malefactors alike, and us'd Threats and Menaces, as the only means to keep the reſt

in awe. Thus the City became oppreſt with Slavery, and ſuffer'd a juſt Puniſhment for their fooliſh Commendation. Within our own Memories, the *Uſurper Sylla*, when he commanded *Damaſippus* and the reſt of his Accomplices, (who endeavour'd the Subverſion of the *Commonwealth*) to be ſtrangl'd, who was there did not applaud his Juſtice? Every one prais'd it, that wicked factious Citizens, that ſow'd Seditions in the *Republick* had deſerved Puniſhment inflicted on them; but that was but the Prologue to a far greater Ruine; for as then any one that coveted another's Houſe, Farm, Veſſel, or Garment, and could not obtain it, endeavour'd to put the other into the Number of the Proſcript, ſo thoſe that then rejoyc'd at the Death of *Damaſippus* were themſelves made Partakers of his Fate; neither did their Blood and Ruine ceaſe till *Sylla* rais'd the Fortunes of his own Party to a conſiderable height; but we at preſent have no Rea-

* A Baſe *Roman*, that took part with *Marius* againſt *Sylla*, and ſacrificed Men among *Beaſts*.

ſon to fear the like under the Govern-
ment of ſo good a *Conſul* as *M. Tullius*
but in ſo great a City as ours are a multi-
tude of factious and various Humours
At another time, and under another *Con-
ſul*, who has the Command of the Army
in his own Hands, what may now ſeem
impoſſible may then paſs for true and re-
al; and when once the *Conſul* ſhall give
the firſt Example of drawing the Sword,
who is there will oppoſe or controul
him? Our Anceſtors Fathers never yet
needed either Courage or Counſel, nei-
ther were ſo ſway'd by Pride and Arro-
gance, as not to imitate the manners of
others, if good and vertuous: They had
firſt their Arms and Military Darts from
the *Sammites*, the Trophies of the Magi-
ſtracy from the *Tuſcans*, and wherever
they ſaw any thing uſeful and honoura-
ble, either in Friends or Enemies, that,
with the greateſt Care and Induſtry, they
embrac'd and follow'd: they had rather
imitate than envy any thing good and
commendable; but at that ſame time

imi-

imitating the Manners of *Greece*, they inflicted Stripes on Citizens, and Death on other condemn'd Malefactors; but when the Commonwealth grew up, and the multitude of Citizens produced likewise multitude of Factions, both the Innocent and Guilty partak'd of one and the same Punishment; then the *Portian*, and other Laws were provided, which Laws impos'd only Banishment on condemn'd Citizens; therefore I think the Reasons I have given why they should not dye, are very weighty; for indeed the Vertue and Wildom of our Fore-fathers was the more eminent and conspicuous, who from such small Aid and Treasures rais'd the Empire to so great an height, than in us, who can scarce preserve what they with so much Labour and Industry have obtain'd. But do you think I would have them sent out, and make an Addition to *Catiline*'s Army? No, but my Sentence is, that their Estates should be confiscated, and they themselves remain Prisoners in Irons in the Municipal Towns which

are moſt fortify'd, neither hereafter ſhall they have any relation to the Senate, or any thing to do vvith the *Roman People*, vvhich if they have, the *Senate* ſhould decree it done againſt the Republick, and the common Safety of us all.

As ſoon as *Cæſar* had ended, ſome applauded, others diſlik'd it; ſome were of one Opinion, ſome of another, but *M. P. Cato*, being ask'd his Sentence, ſpoke to this purpoſe;

My Judgment, Fathers, is much different from that of *Caius Cæſar*, when I compare the Aſſociation it ſelf and our own Danger with the Sentence already given; they diſpute what kind of Puniſhment to inflict on thoſe that have conſpir'd to make War againſt their *Countrey*, *Fathers*, and their own *Religion*, for we ſhould rather ſtudy to beware ſuch, than what to inflict on them; other Offences the Laws may proſecute when committed, but this, if ye prevent not e're it happen, if once happen'd, whatſoever

ſoever you decree againſt it, will be vain, and to no purpoſe; for if once they make themſelves Maſters of the City, we that are the conquer'd ſhall have nothing left us to enjoy, wherefore I conjure you, that if ever you thought your *Houſes*, *Farms*, *Statues*, and your *Attick Tables* to he continued, by the *Publick* Peace and Quiet, if you intend ſtill to continue what you now enjoy, and to have time and leiſure to indulge your Pleaſures; now at length awake, and conſult the Preſervation of the *Commonwealth*; for we do not now contend for Stipends, and Tributes, nor complain of the Injuries of our Confederates, but our Liberty and very Lives lye almoſt on the very brink of Ruin. Oftentimes, *Fathers*, in this *Senate*, have I declaim'd againſt the *Covetouſneſs* and *Luxury* of our own *Citizens*, *and have raiſed many Enemies to me for that very reaſon*: for I, who never in any meaſure favour'd the Offences of any one, would not now be eaſily induc'd to pardon the many Trayterous

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Extravagances of others Lusts; but these things, tho you accounted trivial, made the *Commonwealth* remain secure and undisturb'd, for their extraordinary Riches gave their Negligence a greater toleration. But the Dispute is not now whether we should regulate our Lives by good or ill Examples, nor how to render the *Roman Empire* more great and Splendid, but all these things, we at present enjoy, and seem to have in a quiet possession, will by our own Sloth and neglect, become a Prey to our Enemies. In vain therefore doth *He use * C. Cæsar. the Names of Clemency and Pity, since long since we have lost the use of both, because profuse spending another man's Estate has obtain'd the specious term of Liberality, and a wicked Impudence that of true Valour; and by this means comes it that the *Commonwealth* is in so dangerous a posture. But allow men to be lavish of other men's Fortunes, since 'tis the *mode*, and let pity be shown to those that rob the *publick* Treasury; but let

let them not be prodigal of our Blood, and under pretence of being pittiful to a few loſt and diſſolute men, promote the ruin of all the Good.

C. Cæſar here hath very well and ſubtilly diſcours'd of Life and Death, as if he thought thoſe things only fictitious which are deliver'd to us, of *Hell*, and *Furies*, and the *ſhades below*, and of the different wayes that wicked men go from good, to gloomy, dark, and ugly abodes, and therefore decrees that their Eſtates ſhould be confiſcate, and they kept Priſoners in the free Towns, fearing, leſt if they ſhould ſtill remain in *Rome*, either by the Confederates of the *Aſſociation*, or the giddy Rabble, they ſhould have Reſcue, as if *Rome* was the only Neſt and Receptacle of wicked *Debauchees*, and not all *Italy*; or that a daring Impudence would not commit moſt outrage, where it met with the leaſt reſiſtance. Wherefore I think his Counſel to be vain and frivolous, and if in ſo great a Conſterſternation he alone ſtands unfrighted, we have

have all reaſon to fear him. Thoſe things which you decree concerning *Lentulus*, I would have you to reſolve againſt the whole Army of *Catiline*, for by how much the more ſeverely you do this, the fainter and the more infirm will their Courage be, but if they ſee you in the leaſt remiſs and languid, the fiercer Aſſault muſt ye expect from them; flatter not your ſelves therefore with the Opinion, that your Anceſtors rais'd the *Republick* to what it now is, from ſmall and indigent, to ſo great and famous; for if it were ſo, we have much the more reaſon to continue it in its preſent Splendour, becauſe we have greater Forces, of Allies and Citizens, Armour and Horſes, than ever they had. But there were other things that rendred them renowned, which we have not; *at home Induſtry, abroad, a lawfully acquir'd Empire, a mind free in Councel, not in the leaſt ſway'd by Pride or Debauchery: Inſtead of theſe, we abound in Luxury and Avarice, in Diſcredit and Debts abroad, at home in Eaſe and Plenty; we commend*

mend Riches, but embrace Idleneſs, and make no difference between Good and Ill, ſince Ambition ingroſſes all the Rewards of Virtue; neither is it ſtrange, ſince ye all conſult the Good of the Republick, only apart and ſeparate, while in the mean time you are Slaves to your Pleaſures at home, and here to Intereſt, and the Favour of others. Thence it is that Attempts are made upon the Naked and unarm'd *Commonwealth*: but I paſs this by.

Here *the Nobleſt Citizens have conſpir'd to imbroyl their Country in a Civil-War,* and called to their Aid the *Gauls,* a People warlike and fierce, ever envious of, and full of Hatred to the *Roman* Greatneſs: the Commander of our Enemies is juſt upon us, and you yet ſtill delay to ſuppreſs them, and are yet dubious what Puniſhments to inflict on Traytors apprehended within our own Walls. I ſuppoſe you are pitiful, ſince ſuch *Young Noblemen have offended only through Ambition,* and you would fain diſmiſs them arm'd; yet your Clemency and Pity would, if they ſhould take Arms, turn to your own Miſery.

sery. The matter it self is really dangerous, but you neither fear nor apprehend it: here, through Sloth and a Womanish Softness, you look one on another, as if you trusted to the Immortal Gods, who have often preserved the *Commonwealth* in its greatest Dangers. *No faint Wishes nor effeminate Prayers can draw them to your Succour, but by* * *Vigilance, Counsel, and Action, you may justly expect a prosperous Delivery: but, when once you give your selves up to Sloth and Idleness, (which they hate) all Prayers and Devotions to the Gods are lost and ineffectual.*

*Cicero sic de finibus, *minime convenit, cum ipsi inter nos abjecti, neglectique sumus postulare, Si diis immortalibus Chari sumus, & ab his diligamur.* Et Gellius, *Quid nos à diis immortalibus diutius expectemus, nisi malis rationibus finem facimus?*

Amongst our Ancestors, *Aulus Manlius Torquatus* commanded his own Son to be slain, because, contrary to Command, he fought for the Republick against their Enemies. But that extraordinary young Man suffered Death as a just Punishment for such an immoderate and unseasonable Valour, and yet you differ concerning the Punishment of the most unheard of

Parri-

Parricides: yet I would have you in some measure to commiserate the Honour and Dignity of *Lentulus*. If he had had any pity for it himself, or any regard to the Honour of the Gods and the Lives of us all, pardon the Extravagance of Young *Cethegus*; if ye are so far in love with Civil War, as to let him make another Attempt; and what shall I tell you of *Gabinius*, *Statilius*, and *Ceparius*? who, had they any love for the *Commonwealth*, and their own Countrey, had never so dangerously conspir'd against them. Indeed, Fathers, (should I not offend in saying so) I could be easily content the Plot it self should convince you, since my words are so lightly regarded; but now every where Danger surrounds us, *Catiline* dares us with his Army, besides other secret and unknown Enemies within our own Walls, in the Bosom of our own City, ready for an Insurrection; neither can all the Preparations we can make, nor all our private Councils imaginable, be too soon put in practice to prevent it.

Where-

Wherefore my Sentence is, that since the Nefarious Plots and Associations of some wicked and desperate Citizens, threaten so imminent a Danger to the Common-wealth, and the Conspirators convicted by the Evidence of *Vulturtius* and the *Allobroges*, and by their own Confessions have design'd both us and *Rome* for Blood, and Fire, and other unparallel'd Cruelties, 'tis necessary, by the Examples of our own Fore-fathers, they should suffer condign Punishment, as men convicted of Capital Offences.

Soon as *Cato* had ended, all the *Consulars Order*, and most of the *Senate* approved his Sentence, and mightily applauded the bravery of his Courage, branding others with the name of Coward, that seem'd to oppose it, and accordingly pass'd a Decree for their Execution. As soon as the Senate broke up, the *Consul*, thinking it best to take the opportunity of the approaching night, gave Orders to the *Triumviri* to make every thing ready for that purpose; according-

ly,

ly, after he had disposed his Guards, he conducts *Lentulus* to the * *Carcer*, the rest of the Conspirators were brought in by the *Prætors*. There is a place in the *Carcer* called the *Tullianum*, a little on the left hand, about twelve Foot deep, fortify'd on every side with Walls, and over it a Chamber built with stone Arches; but exceeding dark, stinking, and of a very horrid Aspect. As soon as *Lentulus* was let down into this Place, he was strangl'd. Thus that great *Patrician* of the most honourable Family of the *Cornelii*, who had been honour'd with the *Consular Dignity*, met a Fate every way just and equal to the blackness of his Treasons. *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinius*, and *Ceparius*, took their leave of Life in the same manner.

* *Sic dict. à Coercendo*, from restraining Men of their Liberty: it had two principal parts, one called *Tullianum*, (into which *Lentulus* was cast) and the other *Robur*: these two Places were assign'd for Execution; in the *Tullianum* they only strangl'd Malefactors; it had its name from *Serv. Tullius*, a Roman King, who first invented it.

Whilst these things were thus doing at *Rome*, *Catiline*, out of the Forces he

brought with him and thoſe which *Manlius* led, muſter'd two * Legions, and filled up his Troops, according to the number of his Souldiers, when at firſt his whole Army conſiſted but of two thouſand; but of all his Forces, only one fourth part was well diſciplin'd and arm'd; the reſt only carried ſmall Darts, Lances, and other ſharp Clubs, Armour only of Fortune and Neceſſity.

* So called à *Deligendo*. An ordinary Legion conſiſted of ten Cohorts, containing three Maniples, each Maniple two Centuries. So that it conſiſted of ſixty thouſand Men.

But as ſoon as *Antonius* began to approach with his Army, *Catiline* took his march over the Mountains, and deſigned to remove his Camp, either towards the City or *Gallia*, and ſo to give no opportunity of Battel at all to the adverſe Armies; for he hop'd in a ſhort time to have the Number of his Forces much augmented, if his Confederates at *Rome* had but begun the attempt: therefore he refuſed the Services of

thoſe

those of whom at first he might have had a considerable Force; and depending on the Strength and Aids of the Conspirators at home, he thought it then, beneath the Honour of the *Cause* to communicate it to every Slave and Fugitive.

But when News was brought him, at the Camp, that the whole Plot was discovered at *Rome*, and condign Punishment inflicted on *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest, and that most of them, whom the hopes of Plunder and the desire of *Reformation* had inclin'd to War, were now fall'n off, he immediately remov'd by great Marches over the rough Mountains into the *Pistorian Territories*, designing by by-ways secretly to fly into *Gallia*. But Q. *Metellus Celer*, commanded three Legions at *Picænum*, and imagin'd by reason of the Straits *Catiline* was in, that he designed some such thing; therefore when the Scouts had given him notice

of his March, he ſeaſonably remov'd his Tents, and encamped at the foot of the Mountains, on purpoſe to ſtop his Paſſage into *Gallia*. Neither was *Antonius*, with his Army far off, in the ſmooth and level Ground, that he might the better purſue the flight of *Cataline*; who when he ſaw himſelf environ'd with the Mountains, and the number of his Enemies, that in the City all his Undertakings went croſs and retrograde, and that there were no hopes of Flight or Safety, he thought beſt in ſuch an Extremity to try the fortune of a War; and therefore reſolved to engage *Antonius* as ſoon as poſſible. Calling a Counſel of War, he thus beſpoke them.

* I know by Experience, Souldiers, that the greateſt force of Words cannot have the leaſt Influence to provoke Va-

* *Sic Saluſtius in Jugurtha. Plura dicerem ſi timidis virtutem verba adderent, nam ſtrenuis abunde dictum puto. Et demoſth. in Oratione,* Ἔστι δὲ κεφάλαιον ἅπαντων τῶν εἰρημένων· οὐδὲ πόθ' ὑμᾶς οἱ λέγοντες, οὔτε πονεροῦς, οὔτε χρηστοὺς ποιήσουσιν ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τούτους ὁποίους ἂν βούλεσθαι, &c.

Valour, nor can any Army of weak become ſtrong; or of Cowards, valiant, by the inſinuating Eloquence of a Generals Oration; for every Breaſt whom Nature hath endued with manly Boldneſs and a warlike Propenſity, ſhould endeavour to render it the more ſplendid and illuſtrious in the dangerous Hazards of a juſt War: but him whom neither Glory nor Adverſity can incite to Valour 'tis in vain to perſwade, ſince the force of natural Cowardiſe hinders its Operation. But I only call'd you together to adviſe you a few things and make you acquainted with my Deſign; for you all know, Souldiers, what miſerable Calamities the Sloth and Folly of *Lentulus* have brought both upon himſelf and us, inſomuch, that whilſt I expected Auxiliaries from the City my Paſſage into *Gallia* is block'd up. Now indeed, with what an Aſpect our Affairs look you all know as well as I: two Armies of our Enemies attend

us; one ſtops our Progreſs for the City, the other for *Gallia*, and for us to remain longer here, (tho we had deſigned it) yet the want of Proviſion, and other Neceſſaries, conſtrains us to the contrary; therefore wherever we go, nothing but the Sword muſt force the Paſſage, wherefore I adviſe you to be reſolute and couragious; and ſince we muſt commence the Battel, remember that you carry Riches, Glory, and Honour, nay *Liberty*, and *Rome* it ſelf, in your right hands. If we conquer they are all ſecure we ſhall have Proviſions enough, and all the Colonies, and free Towns will lye open to us; but if Fear and Cowardiſe ſhould prevail, we muſt expect the contrary, for no Place nor Friend will protect him whom Arms will not: beſides, there is a great Difference in the Cauſe of War between us and our Enemies; we fight for our own Country, Lives, and Liberties, they only for the ſuperfluous

Pow-

Power of a few great Men; wherefore that ye may the more couragiouſly encounter them, remember that you are *Romans*, and ſet before you the old *Roman* Valour. No one, unleſs a Conquerour, will ever exchange War for Peace; and 'tis the greateſt Madneſs imaginable, to hope for Safety by Flight, and turn your Backs upon your Enemies, when they are ſufficiently defended by the Armour you carry. Always in fight they that fear moſt are in the greateſt Danger; but Courage is like Walls and Bulwarks. When I conſider, Souldiers, who you are, and reflect on all your former Actions, I have ſufficient hopes that Victory will attend us; your Spirits, Age, and innate Valour, and which is more, the prevalent force of Neceſſity, which makes Cowards valiant, plainly confirms it. But if Fortune is grown envious of our Valour, fall not unreveng'd, nor be taken, and kill'd like

tame Beasts, but like true Romans dye fighting, and leave a dear, bloody, and a lamentable Victory for your Enemies to boast of.

When he spoke this, after a short pause, he commanded them to sound an Alarm, and leads his Forces into a Plain, and then, to inspire them with the greater Courage, he himself muster'd them on foot, for, according to the scituation of the Plain, which was between two Mountains on the left hand, and an huge craggy Rock on the right, he plac'd Eight *Cohorts* in the Front, and the rest in a more narrow compass, for a Recruit. In the Rear of these, he chose out the most experienc'd *Centurions*, and every the best disciplind and best arm'd of the Common Souldiers for the *Forlorn Hope*, and appointed *C. Manlius* to command the Right, and a certain *Fæsulanian* the left wing of the Army, and he himself with

with his *Freemen* and *Tenants* betook themselves near the * *Eagle*, which *C. Marius* was said to have in the Cymbrian War.

* The Eagle was the common Ensign of the *Romans*, but this was a particular Eagle which *C. Marius* had in his Army in the Cymbrian War.

Of the adverse Army, *C. Antoninus*, General, being sick of the Gout, was render'd incapable of accompanying it, so committed the Charge of it to *M. Petreius*, who plac'd the *Veteran Cohorts* (which he rais'd in haste) in the Front, and the rest of the Army for a Supply in the Rear, and riding round the Body, calling them severally by their Names, encourag'd, and intreated them to remember they were about to fight against unarmed Thieves and Robbers, for no less cause than their own *Country*, *Children*, and *Religion*.

This *Petreius* was a man altogether trayn'd up to War, and had discharg'd with great honour and credit the Offices of *Tribune*, *Præfect*, *Prætor*, and *Legat*.

When

When they were all prepar'd, and in a fit Posture, *Petreius* gave the signal, and commanded the *Cohorts* to move forwards, *Catiline*'s Army did the same, till they approached one another so near, that the * light harnes's'd Auxiliaries, arm'd only with Slings and Stones, could begin the Battel; immediately with a great shout and a deadly feud, they rush'd on all together, and leaving their Darts, made use of no other weapons than their Swords. The Veteran Souldiers, fir'd with the remembrance of their former Valour, fought hand to hand very vigorously, and met with no less vigorous resistance. In the mean time *Catiline* was not idle, but was very often with the light-harnes's'd Auxiliaries in the Front, helping and incouraging those that fought valiantly, bringing in fresh Supplies in the places of the wounded, providing

* These were *Ferentarii, à ferendo*, because they wear no Armour, Swords, &c. as others, but only slings and stones.

and

and taking care for every thing, fighting nobly himself, and killing many of his *Enemies*, and discharg'd at once the duty of a *Valiant Souldier*, and an *excellent Commander*. *Petreius*, when he saw *Catiline* behave himself so valiantly, and fought with greater resolution than he expected, presently brought the Prætorian Cohort into the midst of the Enemy, and made a very great and surprizing slaughter, and they but very weakly and confusedly resisted him, then made a very fierce and valiant assault on both *Wings* of *Catiline's* Army; in which Conflict *Manlius*, and the *Fæsulanian* that commanded them, dy'd fighting. But when *Catiline* saw his Forces thus routed, and himself almost totally deserted, only a few remaining with him, reflecting on the *Nobility* of his *Family* and his former *Dignity*, scorn'd to become a *prey* to his *Foes*, and be taken

tame

* *Sic Florus. Pulcherrima morte si pro Patria sic cecidisset Catilina.*

tamely, desperately rush-ed in among the thickest of his Enemies, and was slain fighting *.

The Battel done, you might then see what resolute Valour and desperate Courage possess'd the minds of *Catiline*'s whole Army, for almost every one, when dead, cover'd with their Carkasses the same places, where just before, when alive, they stood fighting; but these few, whom the *Prætorian Cohort* had scatter'd and put to flight, partook of the same fate, but the Body of *Catiline* was found at a great distance from his own Army, in the midst of the whole Body of his Enemies, just expir'd, and seem'd to retain the same fierceness in his looks when dead, which he had in his mind when living. Lastly, in both Armies, neither in flight nor fight was there one Noble and Ingenuous Citizen taken, but on both sides they valu'd their own

own Lives at no dearer rate than the Lives of their Enemies. Neither had the Roman Army any reaſon to boaſt they had obtain'd a joyful and advantageous Victory without Bloudſhed; for every of the moſt valiant and courageous either dy'd fighting, or was ſeverely wounded, beſides many who came out of the Tents, either out of Curioſity, or for the ſake of Plunder, tumbling the dead Bodies of the Enemy. One found a Kinſman, another a Friend, and ſome their Enemies; ſo, promiſcuouſly over the whole Army, Joy and Grief, Gladneſs, and Mourning invaded every one.

FINIS.

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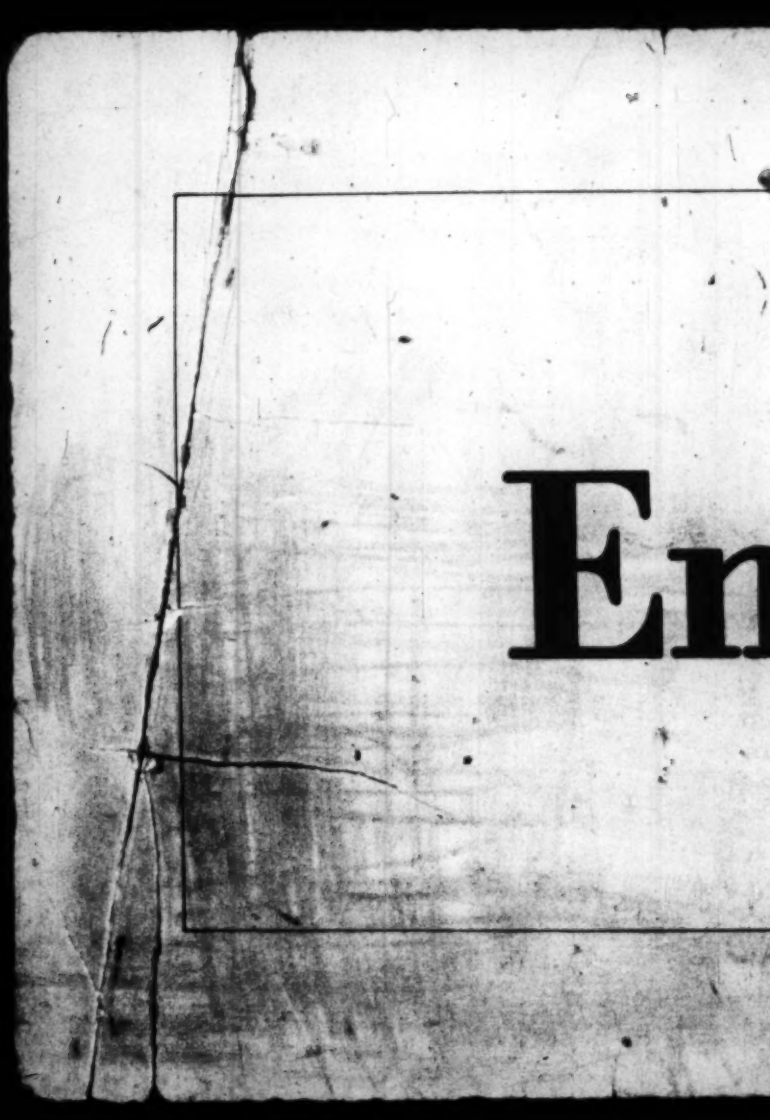
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